THE EXAMINER.

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THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few.
SWIFT.

No. 71.

AUSTRIA.

The last stake of Europe is now, we are told, *really* to be decided. This is the same language that we have heard for many years past: first, the last stake was to be played by Austria, then it was to be played by Russia, then by Prussia, then by Spain, and now it is to be decided by Austria again.—"*More last words of Mr. Baxter.*"—The subject perhaps is not calculated for laughter, but it calls for contempt in the midst of one's sorrow, and nothing can be more piteously ridiculous than the infatuation of those men, who in spite of all that has been said, written, and experienced since the overthrow of the French Court, hail every stir of the old worn-out system as the earnest of a revived, an irresistible, and an all-avenging power. If the majority of my countrymen were to rest their hopes of European regeneration upon this hollow ground, which like a volcanic soil trembles, and bursts into flame, and passes from under the feet while it's possessors think they are enjoying the most delightful prospects in security, I should think they had lost all their fine old character for knowledge and penetration: but the credulous trusters to corruption decrease every day; the false eloquence of Mr. PITT, overbearing alike by nature, by art, and by necessity, no longer has a voice to give confidence to coalitions and pomp to monied wars; the sword of the Gaul has turned the scale full of gold, a greater BRENNUS has triumphed in *four* of the capitals of Europe, and every reflecting person sees, that a new struggle on the Continent is not a war between Prussia and France, or Austria and France, but a war between *old* despotism and *new* despotism, between a civil tyranny long indulged, debilitated, and despised, and a military tyranny, young, mighty, and terrible.

If Austria has totally altered her military system, an alteration which must soon produce another in her civil system, there is certainly a better chance of her success: but there are no proofs of any such improvement: the Archduke CHARLES has indeed the entire command of the armies, as had Sir JOHN MOORE of the English in Spain; but what are the resources, the talents, the *interests* he has under him? Has none of the old Court-poison already polluted the sources of victory? Of what character, and of whose choice, are the Generals, the Civil Officers, the Commissaries, the providers of local and daily necessities? These are homely sounds in the pomp of great wars, but they are the very life-breath of the greatest enterprises, especially when the contention is with a man, who provides as studiously for the wants of his meanest soldier as he does for the universal triumph of his armies. The Continent has had sad experience of the corruption, which put the fate of an empire into the hands of such protectors as MACK; and if corruption does not now appoint the Commander, it is every way probable that it will preserve to itself, out of the astonishing *sacrifices* it has made to the Archduke, the little privileges of *regulating* the inferior appointments, of putting a friend into this *humble* situation and that *humble* situation; in short, of having a few petty gifts "at its disposal," and of "*facilitating*," the views of some M. Von WREDING or Baron Von KLANBERTY, or any other name you please. Let us recollect that MACK himself, after being judged worthy of a prison, was set free and pardoned by the same Monarch, who in compliance with his wretched Courtiers had fettered the actions of the only good General in his empire, his own brother. A despot of genius knows when to press down and when to relax, whom to humiliate and whom to exalt, and what fine spirits to encourage into action, though he dares not give liberty to all: a free constitution possesses all these advantages and many more, and builds all its glory on the broadest basis of human action; but the tyranny of a weak Monarch becomes a system of mere stifling oppression, in which one order presses upon another, till the lowest bears most, acts least, and in short can hardly breathe. Such is the Austrian Government from its Courtiers down to its peasantry, for the Emperor is, or at least has hitherto been, nothing. The Courtier makes a slave of the noble, the noble a slave of his dependant, his dependant a slave of the landholder, and the peasant is the slave of slaves. The worst things in our own country are specimens of the best in Austria: for the freedom of her press you have Mr. LANE's library and the *Morning Post*;* for a sample of her nobility, my Lords CASTLE-

* I beg the reader's pardon for mentioning the *Morning Post*, as the Rev. Mr. HUNTINGTON says of the word *breeches*, but the writer of that paper, I understand, is perfectly shocked whenever he is mentioned with contempt, and yet for rank abuse he is the very Respresentative of St. Giles's. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT is a "traitor," a "*cowardly* demagogue," "the English ROBESPIERRE," and all the Reformists are "wretches." "conspirators," and "*Catilines*." Now the Reformists have no objection, generally speaking, to be abused by a sot or a madman; but when their private characters are attacked, as this man has attacked Sir FRANCIS, Mr. WARDLE, and indeed all the lovers of Reform, and when such a man dares to talk of the decencies and purities of life, he must take care how he provokes from antagonists less delicate than ourselves an *exposition* that would shew the stupidity and insolence of such remarks. Let him think well of this hint. It is amazing to every body, that the *lady* who writes eulogies on the *beauty* and *virtue* of the Prince of Wales, has not panegyrized the purity of my Lord CASTLEREAGH: the subject is quite as fit for the poetess, because it abounds in fiction; and quite as natural to the *lady*, because it would shew a contempt of common decency.

REACH and MELVILLE; for a specimen of her military genius, the canes, the muff-caps, and the whiskers of our recruiting serjeants. All this might have done very well, might have had an equal chance against a government equally weak and equally old, but against new systems of policy and of warfare, against new theories civil and military, against new opinions and new talents, against a general convulsion of men and things, what can it do to defy the earthquake and the ruin?

Conscious of this internal weakness of his country, the Archduke CHARLES talks to his soldiers of foreign assistance; but this assistance does not make it's appearance, and as I have conjectured already, he may have meant nothing more by it than a new Subsidy from the English middle orders. I say middle orders, because it is fit that those who feel the taxes most should have the chief honour of their application. If his Imperial Highness alludes to the Russians, and seriously alludes to them, I am afraid that the Emperor ALEXANDER, under the influence of NAPOLEON, has been making *promises* that ought to render him infamous while the world lasts, for it is as difficult to think that Russia will really go to war with France, when almost every thing on the side of France's enemies is risked in one pitched battle, as it is singular to believe that Austria can think of engaging France and Russia together.—FRANCIS cannot surely put faith in ALEXANDER's neutrality, when there are seventy thousand Russians on the frontiers of Gallicia, for though the latter in his feeble cunning might think of acting according to the fortunes of the two enemies, BONAPARTE would never suffer such a force to be in his neighbourhood under any such design. The Archduke professes a hope of rousing Germany to independence; but setting aside the propriety of the word independence on the occasion, one cannot conceive a wish on the part of the *Sovereigns* of the different states to disagree with BONAPARTE, who foments their old jealousy of Austria, has aggrandized their territories and titles, and is connected with the chief of them by marriage. As to the *People*, despotism is not in the habit of appealing to them; and the only direct appeal which the Archduke makes to the German commonalty, is on the subject of French conscription, a very forcible one certainly, but tending to shew them, rather how much worse off they may be, than how well they are at present. He does not inform them at the same time, that rank is open in the French armies to every soldier who merits it, and that a peasant may become a Prince. Even the freedom from conscription would be but a poor argument to excite them against the French, were they to consider, that whether BONAPARTE be beaten or not, war will still be their trade: if he conquers, he *conscribes* them; and if he is conquered, Europe is plunged again into universal blood. Nations must subdue their own ambition, as well as his, before peace can be restored to Europe. So foolish, so contradictory, so educated in error, and so full of the vices they profess to abhor, are the continental governments, that if they could conquer BONAPARTE, I verily believe they would instantly endeavour once more to partition France: Spain would cry out for her *indemnity*, Italy for her's, Prussia for her's, Austria must have her revenge on Germany and the Netherlands, and of course must *take care* of the North of France; and I hope the conquerors of India will forgive me if it be not true, but I am much inclined to suspect, that England herself would call to mind her former possessions on the coast of Bretagny. And here, with all the past and all the future fatalities before our minds, let us recognize the great hand of PROVIDENCE. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in the full power of their corruption, partitioned Poland, and even England, the most virtuous state in Europe, the state which has just raised its outcry against the treatment of Spain, lent its sanction to that execrable deed. The same Austria and Prussia together with Spain, (O the meanness and the profligacy of these "legitimate" monarchies!) endeavoured to partition France, when France was threatened like Poland with famine and anarchy; and what has been the consequence of so many hideous violations of order and common virtue? France was roused by a noble impulse, a truly patriotic indignation; the corrupt powers of Europe were shaken by the first hand that was directed by justice and by genius; partition became the dread instead of the delight of the humiliated violators; Russia was dismayed, Austria was stricken down, Spain was ground into the dust, Prussia became nothing; and if the glorious spirit of France has been taught cruelty by revenge and become a fearful and malignant being, those only have a sound right to accuse her of her abominations, whose bad passions were not themselves as abominable and at once the *precedent and the provocative* of all her iniquity. Poland now belongs to France; her soldiers, as warlike as any in Europe, are in NAPOLEON's service, revenging if not regenerating; these men will enter Germany, they will help to ravage the possesions of their former oppressors, and if the Emperor FRANCIS should meet them in the field of battle, their eyes fixed on Austrian tyranny, and their swords reeking with Austrian blood, let him turn to his courtiers, if he can, and gather courage from *recollection*.

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FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

PARIS, APRIL 20.—In the *Moniteur* of yesterday are the following official particulars concerning the commencement of the war with Austria:—

"Even in March the preparations for the campaign by the Emperor and the Archduke were announced. All the roads in the Austrian dominions were covered with troops. M. de Stein was at Prague, composing there all sorts of libels. The Austrian Government succeded for a moment in rousing the populace, even the more enlightened classes, by assertions that for nine months the fencibles had been armed for the defence of the country. On the 9th, M. Wratislaw delivered a letter to the King of Bavaria, soliciting his Majesty to attend to the wishes of the Bavarian people, who, as the Archduke affirms, behold in them only their deliverers. He adds, that he had received the strictest orders to act hostilely only against that nation which is the enemy of all political independence in Europe. Somewhat later in the day of the 9th, tidings were received that the Austrians had passed the Inn at Brannau and Burghausen. The same intelligence was received at the head-quarters of the Duke of Dantzic. The dispatches from Munich of the 10th, announce, that the Members of the Austrian Legation there had assumed a lofty tone, and affirmed that the Archduke would attack the whole line on five points at once, and would take the friends of the French as hostages. The French answered, that for every Bavarian hostage they would take ten Barons of the Holy Roman Empire. M. de Stadion is destined to be the 'Thomas Payne' of Germany. The frontiers are covered with proclamations and pamphlets of every description. With Messrs. Genz and Stein is also one Schlegel. On the 11th, particular intelligence was received of the passage of the Austrians. They issued pretended proclamations, to persuade the Germans to make common cause with them,

The Bavarian troops retreated to the Lech. The King of Bavaria went on the 11th with his attendants to Dillengen."

This piece is considered generally as an introduction to the Bulletins which we have to expect. There are a variety of reports. Some assert that the Austrians have advanced further; others, that they have been driven over the Inn. His Majesty the Emperor staid but a short time at Strasburg, and proceeded instantly to the army. What passed in the Senate is not yet known; but it is generally asserted that a new levy of troops has been spoken of.

GERMANY.

VIENNA, APRIL 12.—Before his Imperial Majesty left this Capital, he was pleased to issue the following

PROCLAMATION.

FRANCIS I. by the grace of God, Emperor of Austria, &c.

PEOPLE OF AUSTRIA!—I leave my Capital to join the brave Defenders of the Country, assembled on the frontiers for the protection of the State.

For these three years past I have made the utmost exertions to procure you, my beloved Subjects, the blessings of a permanent Peace. No sacrifice, any ways consistent with your welfare, and the independence of the State, however painful, have I spared to secure your tranquillity and welfare by a friendly understanding with the Emperor of the French.

But all my endeavours proved fruitless. The Austrian Monarchy was also to submit to the boundless ambition of the Emperor Napoleon; and in the same manner he strives to subdue Spain, insults the sacred Head of the Church, appropriates to himself the provinces of Italy, and parcels out the German dominions. Austria was to do homage to the *Great Empire*, the formation of which he has loudly announced.

I have adopted all necessary measures to assert the independence of the State. Not only have ye answered my call, but your love of your native country has prompted you to anticipate it. Accept my cordial thanks; they will be repeated by my posterity and yours. Self-defence, not invasion, was our aim. But the Conqueror will not allow the Sovereign of his People, strong in their mutual confidence, to possess sufficient means to oppose his ambitious views. He declared himself hostile to Austria, unless she should relinquish her measures of defence, and prostrate herself disarmed, at his feet. The disgraceful proposal was rejected, and now his hosts are advancing against us, arrayed for battle.

I confide in God—in the valour of my armies, in the heroic conduct of my brother, who leads them on to glory, in you, my beloved People. Our exertions for this war are great; but such they must be in order to attain more securely the important end of self-preservation.

What you have hitherto done, is the most unquestionable pledge of the powerful assistance which I am to receive from you. They who bear no arms will also share in the protection of their country. Unanimity, order, obedience, activity, and confidence, constitute the real strength of a nation. You have evinced them, and to this alone is it owing, that we start with a fairer prospect of success than we ever did. Fortunately events will not unnerve your energy, nor disastrous occurrences, should any happen, shake your firm resolve. Perseverant valour overcomes all dangers, enhances every advantage, and supplies all losses. Our cause is just; Providence does not forsake those who do not forsake themselves.

I depend on your love, your tried fidelity to your Prince and Country. Depend ye on the paternal solicitude of your Monarch, who finds all his happiness in yours.

Vienna, April 8, 1808. FRANCIS.

ADDRESS TO THE GERMAN NATION.

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria is forced to take up arms, because the French Emperor will not tolerate the existence of a State which does not acknowledge his supremacy of power, nor stoop to become subservient to his views of conquest; because he requires that Austria shall renounce her independence, unbend her energies, and surrender at the Conqueror's discretion: because the armies of the Emperor of France, and of his dependent allies, advance against Austria with hostile views.

The forces of Austria have risen for self-defence and self-preservation at the nod of their Monarch; I am leading them on against the enemy, to prevent the certain attack he prepared against us.

We pass the frontiers not as conquerors; not as enemies of Germany; not to destroy German institutions, laws, customs and manners, and impose foreign ones; not to appropriate to ourselves the property of Germany, or to sacrifice her children in distant wars, carried on to destroy and subjugate foreign nations. No; we fight to assert the independence of the Austrian Monarchy, and to restore to Germany the independence and national honours which are due to her.

The same pretensions which now threaten us have already proved fatal to Germany. Our assistance is her last effort to be saved. Our cause is that of Germany. United with Austria, Germany was independent and happy; it is only through the assistance of Austria that Germany can receive happiness and independence.

Germans! Consider your destruction. Accept the aid we offer, and co-operate with us for your salvation. We demand from you no exertions, but such as the war for our common cause requires. Your property and your domestic peace are secured by the discipline of our troops. The Austrian armies will not oppress, nor rob you; they respect you as brethren, chosen to fight jointly with us, for your cause and for ours. Be worthy of our respect; such Germans only as forget themselves are our enemies.

Depend on my word, which I have more than once pledged and redeemed, to save you! Depend on the word of my Emperor and brother, which has never been violated.

CHARLES, Generalissimo.

PROVINCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

On Friday se'nnight a Court was held for the Borough of Ipswich, called by several respectable Portmen, for the purpose of thanking Colonel Wardle for his late meritorious conduct in Parliament. Mr. Seekamp (the senior Portman) proposed a Resolution of Thanks, decidedly free from any personal or party feelings, which was seconded by Mr. Clarke, and supported by a very sensible speech from Mr. Brame. The friends of Ministers, however, had not been idle; they not only brought up all their adherents in Ipswich, but actually dragged them from every part of the county, so that they had obtained a large majority in the Meeting; and the Resolution was warmly opposed by Mr. Crickett, a Member for the Borough, and one Bacon, a Common-Councilman. Mr. Crickett had voted in favour of the Duke of York in Parliament, and he of course was obliged to assert his "perfect conviction" of the innocence of that virtuous and matchless Commander;—and as for poor Mr. Bacon, he had read the *Morning Post*, and talked very glibly about "dangerous consequences," "popular clamour," "regular Government," &c.—"And who," said this parrot, "have such Meetings been convened by? Why, not by the loyal part of the community, but by men who are presumed to be *disaffected subjects*; for instance, Mr. Waithman, Mr. Cobbett, and persons of that description."—*The Orator* finished his speech by touching on what he termed the Duke of York's "*irregularities*," which "must have hurt the feelings of our blessed Sovereign!" To reason with Mr. Bacon, after this specimen, would be quite absurd, for he evidently is a very weak man, and a very harmless libeller.—After a clever speech in favour of the Resolution by Mr. Fossett, and the reply of Mr. Jackman, the Court became a scene of the most indecent noise and clamour, during which a set of counter resolutions were proposed and carried, the tenor of which was, that the Great Court of the Borough of Ipswich looked with horror upon all such Meetings, and that it had a firm reliance upon the "*wisdom, energy, and integrity*, of his Majesty's Ministers!"—Lord Castlereagh and all, no doubt!—But the opinion of the *Great Court* will doubtless be treated with all the respect it merits, even should it vote a sta-

tue to commemorate the services of that great orator and statesman, Mr. Baron, who seems desirous of following the example, in one respect, of his great namesake the Lord Chancellor, of whom it is said that he sold his conscience, and therefore became, according to the Poet, the "meanest of mankind."

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 1.

The Earl of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, after contending that the appointment of the Portuguese Regency by the British had given great disgust to the Portuguese nation,—moved for the production of a Copy of the Proclamation issued by Sir Hew Dalrymple in Lisbon, in September last.

The Earl of LIVERPOOL resisted the motion. The measure in question had been arranged in the best possible manner, and it was a point which rested entirely between the British Government and the Prince Regent.

Lords SIDMOUTH and GRENVILLE supported the motion, which however was negatived.—Adjourned.

Tuesday, May 2.

DIVORCE.

Lord AUCKLAND expatiated on the injurious tendency of the increasing crime of adultery, particularly among the higher orders of society. The present system, he said, contributed to the commission of the offence. The proceedings in cases of Divorce were so expensive, that they were mostly confined to the rich: one case lately cost 4000l.. Pecuniary damages, the only check now existing, were often not at all felt, and they were frequently the result of bargains and sales, received by the husband without shame, and paid by the seducer with exultation. What he meant to propose would prevent rather than punish the crime, which was, that a Standing Order should be made, prescribing that no Bill of Divorce should be received in that House, except it contained a clause for prohibiting the offending parties from intermarrying. This would have all the effect of a Bill, and would take away one very powerful plea from the seducer,—that of his promising the object of his seduction an honourable compensation by marriage, after a divorce. His Lordship concluded by moving an additional Standing Order to the above effect.

Lord MULGRAVE did not approve of the motion. It would not only be inefficacious, but be productive of very injurious consequences, by putting it out of the power of the seducer to make the only reparation in his power.

The Archbishop of CANTERBURY and Lord ERSKINE supported the motion; and so did the LORD CHANCELLOR, but he thought the crime required a stronger check.

On a division the motion was carried by a majority of 16, there being 28 for it, and 12 against it.—Adjourned.

Wednesday, May 3.

Nothing of importance before the House this day.

Thursday, May 4.

The Earl of SELKIRK, after some prefatory remarks, moved an Address to his Majesty that no arrangement ought to be made with America, without reparation being demanded from the American Government for the conduct of its Officers in harbouring and refusing to deliver up Deserters from the British Naval service.

The Earl of LIVERPOOL resisted the motion, there being no ground for interfering with the Executive Government in the pending Negociation with the United States.

The motion was put and negatived.—Adjourned.

Friday, May 5.

Lord ERSKINE presented a Bill for more effectually preventing cruelty to animals, which was read a first time.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 1.

DUTCH COMMISSIONERS—JOHN BOWLES.

Mr. ORDE called the attention of the House to the Fourth Report of the Finance Committee. The Hon. Gentleman stated the case of those Commissioners, as it has already appeared in the *EXAMINER*,—their paying themselves 5 per cent. instead of two and a half,—their keeping the balances in their own hands, and for their own use, instead of that of the public,—&c. &c. The labour of these men, said Mr. Orde, could not be very great, for during the time, Mr. John Bowles wrote not less than 30 pamphlets!—Mr. John Bowles discovered that it was much more profitable to trade in *Anti-Jacobinism* under Mr. Pitt, than to wait for causes at the Bar. The career of Mr. Bowles was connected with some very important points. It shewed the nature of the cry of Anti-Jacobinism, which had been set up with so much vigour to defeat the most beneficial political objects—it exposed the principle upon which the loudest of these Anti-Jacobin declaimers acted, which was solely to a view to their own private emolument—and it further proved, how ready the Government had been to give places to such persons who had no merit on earth to recommend them except their dexterity in this sort of traffic.—(*Loud cries of Hear! Hear!*)—The Commissioners were no doubt criminal, but the Government, in his opinion, was far more so. Negligence and profusion were the distinguishing features of the Government of that day, of which Mr. Pitt was at the head, and all this operated as a bounty on roguery. Mr. Orde concluded by moving,

"1st. That to commit pecuniary trusts of extraordinary magnitude to any individuals, without settling the mode or amount of their remuneration, without providing any material check on their proceedings, and without reminding them of their responsibility, by calling for any regular or periodical account, is a neglect which may be expected often to lead to prejudicial consequences, and a deviation from the acknowledged duty of Government.

"2d. That such neglect and deviation have been proved to exist, and might have been attended with material loss to the public.

"3d. That the Commissioners upon Dutch Property have been guilty of gross misconduct, in violating the Act under which they were appointed, and appropriating to their own use, without authority, sums for which they ought to have accounted to the public.

"4th. That the Account of the Commissioners be referred to the Auditors of Public Accounts to be examined.

"5th. That all consideration of the remuneration to be allowed to the Commissioners ought to be deferred till their accounts are finally settled."

Mr. H. THORNTON thought the Commissioners much more to blame than the Government, in whose hands he considered it best to leave the case, though he did not object to a Parliamentary decision, if called for.

Mr. PERCEVAL said, that the Report had not been in their hands ten days, when notice of this motion was given, and it was therefore not very surprising that nothing had yet been done. The suggestions of the Committee, however, had been adopted, and the Accounts had been called for, in order that they might be examined by the Auditors of Public Accounts. If blame attached to any Administration, the late one was equally censurable; the present one, in fact, was least of all chargable with this neglect. He hoped the Hon. Mover would withdraw his Resolutions; if not, he should move the previous question.

Sir J. NEWPORT thought that the Attorney-General should be immediately instructed to commence a prosecution against these Commissioners, for malversations in office; for if this was not malversation, he did not know in what malversation consisted.

Mr. ROSE said, that if any Treasury was to blame, it was that to which he had belonged; but they certainly never would have imagined that these Gentlemen would have thought of the

helping themselves. Mr. Bowles had been spoken of as having great influence with Mr. Pitt's Administration: for his own part, he was a stranger to that Gentleman; and as for his pamphlets, *though regularly sent him*, he had never read one of them.

Mr. WHITBREAD commented with much severity on the conduct of these Commissioners, who, he said, had even had the effrontery to write letters to the Members, intreating their favour. At the very moment when Mr. Pitt wanted money for the country, these Gentlemen, who talked so much of spending their last drop of blood for the country, refused him all aid, with 90,000*l.* of the public money in their pockets. All the Administrations who had suffered these disgraceful proceedings, should be censured. Mr. John Bowles had now shewn some of the reasons which had induced him at all times to libel him (Mr. Whitbread) as a Jacobin, &c. The worthy Gentleman was like the Athenian, who, if he could put all the money in his pocket, despised the hisses of the people, knowing than when he went home he could enjoy his treasure. He was hopeful, however, that the worthy Gentleman would be disappointed of the congratulations he promised himself from the possession of his wealth. It was said that Mr. Bowles had sacrificed his profession to the Commission. He understood that he had no practice to sacrifice; and like the Apothecary in *The Prize*, all he had to abandon were his wig and gown, with the peg on which they hung. The *services* of Mr. Bowles, however, were known. He had stigmatized the Duke of Bedford as a Jacobin, and another character who was not friendly to Ministers as an Assassin. He had also assisted with a Noble Lord, now gone to Spain as our Ambassador, in composing articles for the Anti-Jacobin. Another Gentleman who had composed madrigals for the same work was now Secretary of State; and it was not too much that Mr. Bowles, the Editor of the work, should have been rewarded for his services also. The Worthy Gentleman had by his whole conduct proved himself to be a blind guide, and in the strictest sense of the word indeed a Pharisee. Even the Newspapers which had formerly given publicity to his calumnies now gave him up, and exclaimed, "Oh, John Bowles, John Bowles! little did we know what sort of person you were when we inserted your paragraphs."—The Hon. Gentleman proceeded to warn the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the danger of passing by a business of this kind by moving the previous question. The danger of the Noble Lord (Castlereagh's) once finding himself in bad company, namely, in that of Mr. Reding, had been admitted. The mode in which the present Ministers had come into power, through the No Popery Bowles, and No Popery Beazeley, was well known, *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*. But it would be dangerous, it would be destructive to the character of the House, to allow a case like the present to pass over by the previous question.

Mr. HUSKISSON also declared that he had never read any of Mr. Bowles's publications, and that he had never seen him at the Treasury.

Mr. PONSONBY thought it impossible that the negligence of Government for fourteen years could be passed over in the way proposed. But, if so, what should be said of the conduct of the Commissioners, who had been guilty of making false statements, for the purpose of fraudulent advantage to themselves? Was it to be endured that at the worst they should be called on to refund? Was this the way in which the public was to be served? It was said that one of the Gentlemen (Mr. Bowles) had published 32 pamphlets. He had seen one of them, and as the title was tempting he had looked into it. It was termed "A Moral View of Society at the end of the 18th Century." Some of the passages he found peculiarly applicable to the present case. In one paragraph the writer observes, "*Conscience has now not only lost its power to restrain men from crimes themselves, but even to excite indignation in others; and crimes not formerly tolerated now find advocates in persons laying claim to religious and virtuous characters.*" Odious as hypocrisy was, the Right Hon. Gentleman could not but regard this as a tribute to his conscience. There was another passage, almost written one would suppose for the Commissioners. "*A more convincing proof can hardly be conceived of the disregard of our duty than the growth of peculation; and that so far from rendering to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, every person must be shocked at the gross defalcations which every where come within their view.*" Again: "*Nothing can without a sense of religious duties get the better of temptation.*" There must indeed have been something about him (Mr. Bowles); but surely it could not be a sense of moral or religious duties which rendered him not proof against temptation. The Right Honourable Gentleman submitted, that the House could not pass over this business, without leaving some trace on their Journals of the sense they entertained of so gross and scandalous a transaction.

Mr. MARRYATT stated, that it was not on account of any of his pamphlets that Mr. Bowles had been noticed by Mr. Pitt, but on account of an Anonymous Answer which he had written to Paine's Rights of Man. He agreed, however, that the conduct of the Commissioners was highly improper.

Mr. P. MOORE considered this a gross instance of concealment, fraud, and embezzlement, which the House could not pass over, consistently with its own honour. He asked why there was not a Writ of Extent here as in the case of General Delancey?

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL for SCOTLAND contended, that his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Perceval) had no wish to veil the conduct of the Commissioners. He only wished to avoid passing an unmerited censure on Government. If on examining the accounts of the Commissioners to the bottom, it should turn out that fraud had been committed, Parliament might then direct criminal steps to be taken.

Mr. BARHAM highly disapproved of the mode in which the House was proceeding to shew the people that no reform of abuses was meant by the House. He alluded to the Offices in Reversion Bill, the vote on the motion against Lord Castlereagh, and the Amendment of this night; and asked, was the public to be told that these were to go for nothing? That no punishment was to attach to the Commissioners in the present instance? He begged of the Right Hon. Gentleman to open his eyes to what he was about.

Mr. CANNING maintained that the Executive was acting with the most scrupulous minuteness in giving effect to the Reports of the Finance and other Committees. The import of the present Resolutions, however, was to confound the conduct of Government with that of the detected Commissioners. If the Honourable Gentleman who opened the business had not proposed the two first Resolutions, his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Perceval) would not have moved the previous question. He saw no objection when the House should come to the third Resolution to agree to the substance of it. But, unless circumstances arose to call the attention of a Board so occupied as the Treasury was to the existence of such abuses as those now complained of, he did not admit that Government could be to blame in not detecting them.

Mr. ELLISON and Mr. ORDE made a very few observations, while the division was loudly called for. Strangers having withdrawn, the House divided on the question that the first Resolution be put; on which there appeared to be—Noes 102, Ayes 77; majority with Ministers for the previous question 25.

The other Resolutions were then withdrawn.

While Strangers were excluded, Mr. HENRY THORNTON proposed a new Resolution, stating that the Commissioners had been guilty of misconduct in assigning to themselves a remuneration not directed by the Act under which they were appointed, and that Government had been chargeable with neglect in not exercising the proper authority over Commissioners so disregarding their public duties.—An Amendment was then proposed, to substitute the word *omission* for *neglect*; on which the House divided.—For the Amendment 98, Against it 78; Majority 20.—Adjourned.

Tuesday, May 2.

INSOLVENT DEBTORS.

Sir THOS. TYRON rose to submit a motion to the House on the subject of the Insolvent Debtors in England. He should merely preface his motion with a few observations. It was

a painful circumstance for him to state, that the number of Insolvent Debtors had increased one-third since the passing the last Bill of this description; there were at present, in London only, a number almost incredible, including the wives and families of those unfortunate persons. The number amounted to no less than 18,389 persons, who were literally in a starving condition: this was the natural consequence of the excessive pressure of the times on the middling class of people. There was one alteration he should submit to the House in framing this Bill, which was, that instead of its operation being limited to debts not exceeding 1500l, it should extend to all debts under 2000l. an extension not beyond what the increase of price in every article of consumption warranted. He should also propose to extend the benefit of the Bill, to the Islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Man, which had been omitted in former Bills of this description. The Hon. Baronet concluded by moving for leave to bring in a Bill for the relief of certain Insolvent Debtors in England.—Leave given.

The Militia Completion Bill was read a third time and passed.—Adjourned.

Wednesday, May 3.

Lord TEMPLE moved for Returns of the Sick and Wounded of the British Army in Spain and Portugal, before and after its return to England.

Lord CASTLEREAGH opposed the motion, on the ground that it would afford an unfair statement of those that suffered in consequence of the campaign, the sick of the army being now restored to perfect health, except a very few who had died since their return; he therefore did not think the return necessary.

Mr. WHITBREAD thought it right that the country should know, whether justice had been done to our soldiers in Spain and Portugal by the Medical Board at home, and the Medical Staff of the army; since it had to support a Physician, Surgeon, and Apothecary-General, with a host of Surgeons, &c. beside; and since it had been strongly reported that the medical stores were insufficient for the army.

Lord CASTLEREAGH said no such thing had reached his ears, as that there was a deficiency of medical stores in that army; but he would certainly inquire into it.

Mr. WILBERFORCE stated, he could not give the present motion a negative, since it involved the health and welfare of so necessary a body of men as the soldiers. He believed many of those brave fellows had died in consequence of ill attendance during their passage to foreign countries. However, he did not conceive that any blame could attach to the Medical Staff of that army.

Lord TEMPLE said, that his motion was meant to discover whether the complaints made by many were well founded or not, but since the Noble Lord had promised to make inquiry, he (Lord Temple) begged leave to withdraw his motion.—Adjourned.

Thursday, May 4.

SALE OF SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. CURWEN said, that the present state of affairs called upon men of all classes and ranks, to unite in giving energy and effect to every measure that tended to advance and strengthen the vital interests of the nation. He was far from wishing to agitate any question that would tend to irritate the public mind; but it was his firm opinion that the House must *recover* its character by other means than by stifling inquiry, resisting discussion, or shutting its ears against conviction. Suspicions had indeed spread widely as to the disinterestedness of their conduct. The House, it was not to be questioned, had been in a degree "shorn of its beams." If this was a mistake, the House should prove it, by going into an inquiry of the strictest nature; if true, it could not too speedily remedy those abuses which had given birth to suspicions which must end in the ruin of the country, if not entirely removed. Government by a timely Reform might have prevented all the present evils, and would not now have to lament the existence of the abuses which led to the late unhappy inquiry. He hoped, however, that those who now called for Reform would not be charged with Jacobinism, as those persons had been who called for the late inquiry. Such a charge would be a *libel* on the real friends of Reform. The wish for Reform among the people was the result of cool conviction accelerated by the late Inquiry, which had proved that in that House there were men of talents and integrity, and that the House was not a mere ministerial instrument, to act against the people. The call for Reform did not originate in any *party* feeling; the people had arrayed themselves against abuses only, and to resist this wish would be obstinacy, not firmness. The present situation of the Continent shewed the effects of not consulting the wishes of the people. He wanted no innovation; he did not wish to take a single stone out of the building of the Constitution; but he did not think that to repair its defects was to overturn the pile. He should indeed be sorry if its foundation was too weak to bear inspection. Mr. Pitt commenced his career with Parliamentary Reform; but when in place, he found it much easier to govern by corruption, and he gave it up. He wished Ministers would take up the question of Reform, and comply with the universal wish of the people. He did not wish to degrade the House, but certainly the mode of obtaining seats must naturally excite the murmurs of the country. Only a few days ago, when it was asserted in that House that seats were bought and sold, what was the answer? Why, *recrimination*, not denial. He had consulted with Mr. Coke alone on the subject of his motion. He did not want the highest legal authorities in proposing that the bribery laws should be extended to the *elected* as well as the electors. Blackstone proposed such an extension. In proposing, therefore, that every Member should swear that he had not been guilty of bribery, he should so shape the obligation, that it should be both retrospective and prospective, and have effect upon that abominable system of bribery, which prevailed *after* the return of a Member. This species of corruption extended most widely; and he could not be brought to entertain the objection, that any Member would be capable of evading his oath; for if there were such men, the country would indeed be lost by sending them into that House. He did not think that public men were necessarily corrupt. He was no enemy to the prerogatives of the Crown; but he deprecated their increase. The people would be better represented by the landed than the monied interest, as the latter was partial to war, which gave rise to loans and contracts; but the landed interest were necessarily opposed to war, because they felt the burthens with the people. It was a disgrace to the country, that the report of peace was received on *'Change* with regret. He asked the House to come to a decision, Aye or No, on the question of corruption, for the question must be decided upon. He conjured them to do their duty, and shew to Bonaparte that we were a united people. He was sorry that Ministers had protected Lord Castlereagh in opposition to the sense of the people; and he thought that Noble Lord would do well to resign. Mr. Curwen concluded by moving for leave to bring in a Bill "for securing the independence and purity of Parliament, by preventing the obtaining seats by improper means; and also to extend the laws respecting bribery."

Mr. WINDHAM said, there were some cases in which the parties ought not to be heard at all, and this was the case with respect to Parliamentary Reform, in which 900 in a 1000 held such different, wild, and extravagant notions, that nobody could guess what they were at. Such questions should not have the slightest encouragement; and thinking that the present motion had that object in view, he should give it his decided opposition. All the plans of Reform were practically, philosophically, and even ludicrously wrong.—(*Here Mr. Fuller called to order; but was himself pronounced to be out of order.*)—Mr Windham continued, and said, that *universal suffrage* was the prominent wish: but nothing would do: no plan could be introduced at which the people would not snap their fingers. Those Reformers never knew where to stop. Corruption always had existed, and would exist; and he could not consent to any change. The late Inquiry had not proved that the Government was corrupt; and if once a change was made to please the people, they would never know when

they had enough. Parliamentary Reformists were like the French Revolutionists, and it was actual madness in the people to think of pulling the Government to pieces.

Lord FOLKSTONE would argue the question of Parliamentary Reform, when the motion on that subject was brought forward. His Right Honourable Friend said that it was senseless to suppose that men in office would traffic for places: but it had been *proved* that they did so, and he therefore thought it was impossible the House could refuse its countenance to a Bill whose object was to prevent such abuses.—Such refusal might drive the people to despair, and dispose them to look to other than constitutional means for redress.

Mr. PERCEVAL would not oppose the bringing in the Bill, though he begged to be distinctly understood not to give any pledge to concur in the measure, or to be staked to any project of regulation or reform whatever. In fact, he did not think the measure proposed could meet the sanction of Parliament. He did not mean to apply a Jacobinical character to the Hon. Mover; but he imputed a *Jacobinical spirit* to those who, by their speeches out of doors, *endeavoured to impress on the people that a Reform in Parliament was necessary*, and inflamed the public mind with exaggerated pictures of abuse and impracticable ideas of Reform; and if any Member of that House, not venturing to make such delusive statements in his place, where they would be refuted, should think proper to repeat them in other places, it would not be difficult to appreciate the mischievous result. The House was called *a sink of corruption*; and it was said that Members sat there contrary to the Act of Settlement, though that Act, which passed in 1700, was repealed in 1704, and in fact had never been the law of the land. He should not oppose the bringing in of the Bill, but he hoped to have the *vigilant assistance* of the Right Hon. Gentleman *(Mr. Windham!)* in watching its progress. What was said to be the sentiment of the people respecting Reform, had arisen from the *the silence of Parliament*, and the only means to put an end to the *delusion* was to discuss the subject in Parliament, and not leave it for popular meetings and inflammatory papers out of doors.

Mr. PONSONBY said a few words.—Mr. FULLER apologized to the Speaker, and retired amidst the laughter of the House.—Mr. H. BROWNE disapproved of the measure.—Mr. BATHURST approved of it; and Mr. SMITH *(one of the speakers at the Crown and Anchor)* convulsed the House with laughter by addressing them as "Gentlemen." He apologized, but said that the sentiments he held in one assembly he should never be ashamed of in another. Parliamentary Reform had the sanction of Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, and would any of the puny mortals of the present day think of setting themselves up against such men? Members should be independent, but not of their constituents.—Lord TEMPLE supported the Bill; and Mr. CURWEN, in his reply, expressed his astonishment that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should give consent to bringing in the Bill, and at the same time express his resolution to oppose it when brought in. It was not from any factious tavern meeting that he collected the opinions of the people, but from the country in general. He disliked all tavern meetings, and had no connection with them.

The Motion was then carried, and Mr. Curwen, Mr. Ponsonby, Sir A. Pigott, Sir S. Romilly, Lord Folkstone, *Mr. Windham*, and others, were appointed to prepare and bring in the Bill. At Mr. Windham's name, as might be supposed, shouts of laughter followed.—Adjourned.

Friday, May 5.

CHARGES AGAINST MR. PERCEVAL AND LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. MADOCKS brought forward his motion on the interference of the Treasury in elections for Parliament. He had to submit a charge of corruption against two Members of that House, who were also his Majesty's Ministers, and as it was a question of fact rather than argument, it must be decided by witnesses at the bar. These facts were of so gross a nature that he should deserve to be called a traitor and a jacobin if he did not call the notice of the House to them. He then moved the reading of the minutes from the Journals of February and March, 1700, stating that a Mr. Shepherd, a Member of the House, had been guilty of bribery, by giving great sums of money to electors of Newport, Hants. From this it appeared that Mr. Shepherd had been committed to the Tower. These facts being read from the Journals, Mr. Madocks said, he could bring forward a charge against two of his Majesty's Ministers similar to that made against Mr. Shepherd, in 1700, namely, that of bribing electors; and, pursuant to the notice he gave, and in conformity with the precedent read by the clerk, he moved that the charge now made against the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval and Lord Viscount Castlereagh be heard at the Bar of the House on Tuesday.

Mr. PERCEVAL said, this was the first time he had ever heard a charge brought forward against a Member of Parliament, without such Member having had any previous intimation of it. He was not conscious of any thing with which he could be charged; and having stated thus much, he would retire, and leave it to the House to come to what decision it might think proper to adopt.—*(Mr. Perceval then retired.)*

Sir J. ANSTRUTHER said the charges were wholly undefined and inadmissible. It was not a motion directed against this or that side of the House, but a part of that system which exerted itself against all public characters. If such motions were to induce the individuals charged to retire, the Hon. Mover had only to proceed and he might soon have the House to himself.

Sir F. BURDETT contended that there was nothing unprecedented in the motion. He had however no doubt that his Hon. Friend was ready to state the particulars of his charge, if necessary.

Mr. BIDDULPH observed that the tone and feelings of those in power were lately very much altered. They now heard in silence such grave charges, and afterwards averred that this silence was not a confession of guilt! A Minister who did not repel such imputations on his honour, was not a proper Minister for this country.

Mr. BATHURST conceived the motion highly reprehensible, as it went to affect all public men, and did not present itself in a *tangible* form.—*(A loud laugh.)*

Mr. MADOCKS declared his entire willingness to state at once the particulars of his charge against the two Cabinet Ministers.

The SPEAKER here observed, that it was the custom of the House to hear an accused Member, after which he withdrew. No charge could be brought against an absent Member. With regard to a precedent, as the motion took him by surprize, he was not quite prepared to state his opinion.

Mr. MADOCKS was quite willing to await the pleasure of the House.

Mr. CANNING should not oppose the House giving its decided opinion on the matter. If the motion should not be withdrawn, he would give it his negative. In proportion as the House would be misled by such *unfounded accusations*, in the same proportion was it necessary that a similar proceeding should not again occur.

Mr. WHITBREAD said that an Hon. Gentleman had objected to the motion, because the charges were not in a "*tangible*" shape. These were really ominous words! And when the Hon. Gentleman talked of charges against *all* public men, he was bound to prove his assertion. As for the insinuations against the recent public Meetings, he would ask, what had given *cause* for such Meetings of the people? He was not present at a late one, *(the Crown and Anchor)*, not because he did not approve of it, but because he knew that he should be slandered for such attendance; though if he thought he could have done any good by his attendance, he would most certainly have been there. For his part, he did not wish all *Placemen* excluded from the House: he thought the great efficient officers of the Crown should be in Parliament, but those only. A direct charge of corruption had been made against two Officers of the Crown, and then a cry was raised of an attempt to discredit public men! If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had remained in his place, he would have had something to say to him about corruption. Ministerial corruption had recently been

fully proved in that House. Lord Castlereagh had even confessed his guilt, yet he remained a Minister! while others had been sent to Newgate for such practices. The people asked nothing but what they had a just right to.

Mr. YORKE said that this was the freest country in the world, for the liberty of the subject was greater than ever. The motion was absurd.

Mr. GOOCH contended, that if the speeches made at the recent public Meetings were correctly given, those who made them had done more mischief than they could do away in a century.

Mr. LYTTLETON and Mr. BRAND contended that these Meetings were entirely constitutional, for it was the privilege of Britons to meet and discuss public matters. All they had in view was a Constitutional Reform, and therefore they were entitled to the respect and good wishes of every lover of his country.

Mr. STOURGES BOURNE contended that the motion could not be entertained, for notice had been at first given against Ministers generally, and now two only are accused in a general manner. He highly disapproved of the Meetings of the People.

Mr. HUTCHINSON maintained the right of the People to meet in public. Some Gentlemen seemed to think that the House of Commons was a creation of its own, instead of a creation of the people, whose interests it was bound to serve.—If such Meetings were to be thus borne down, the liberties of the country were gone, and a seat in that House he should consider as a degradation!

The motion being put and negatived without a division, a conversation ensued as to the day on which it should be again brought forward, when Mr. Maddocks fixed Thursday next.—It was in fact negatived on a point of form only, it being customary to *give notice* to any Member against whom charges were intended to be brought.

CHELSEA GRANT.—COLONEL GORDON.

Sir O. MOSELEY, after alluding to the very improper conduct which had taken place in regard to the grant of the Chelsea land to Colonel Gordon, for a most inadequate price, moved that a Committee be appointed to inquire into the transaction.

Mr. PERCEVAL hoped he could satisfy the House that no such proceeding was necessary. A report from the Governors of Chelsea Hospital had been this day received by the Treasury, from which it appeared that it would be advisable to appropriate the ground granted to Colonel Gordon to the purposes of the Hospital; and though that Gentleman had an undoubted right to a lease, yet, should the opinion given in the Report be found a proper one, the Treasury would take measures to *persuade* Colonel Gordon to relinquish his right.

Sir F. BURDETT repeated, that the whole affair had been a job—a most disgusting and obnoxious job, which went to destroy the comfort of many deserving men, for the miserable pittance of *fifty pounds* a year. He would give, and he now offered, double the sum for the ground, to prevent such disgrace and injustice. The whole of the ground should be appropriated for the enjoyment of the poor Pensioners, for they were not permitted to walk in the green plot fronting the river, which was reserved for the wives and daughters of those who had "good berths" in the Hospital. Because he lifted up his voice against such disgusting abuses, he was to be called a Jacobin; but he was willing to bear that of any other name affixed to those who were active to detect corruption and injustice.

After some further remarks, the motion was negatived by a majority of 97; there being 73 for it, and 170 against it.—Adjourned.

TUESDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

BANKRUPTS.

[illegible], Greystock-place, Fetter-lane, carpenter, to surrender May 23, June 13, at ten, at Guildhall. Attorney, [illegible] Old Jewry.

R. Clarke, White Horse-lane, Stepney, May 9, 23, June 13, at ten, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Tyler, Bedford-street.

G. Hart, Stamford-street, Blackfriars-road, horse dealer, May 6, 16, June 13, at one, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Empson, Lamberth-road.

J. Hankin, Holloway, builder, May 9, at one, May 13, at 12, June 13, at one, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Abbot, Spa-fields.

F. H. Bonner, Fleet-street, stationer, May 6, 13, June 13, at one, at Guildhall. Attornies, Messrs. Young and Hughes, Essex-street, Strand.

J. Lewis, Upper East Smithfield, needle-maker, May 9, 16, June 13, at twelve, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Hall, Coleman-street.

Wm. Earl, Edmond-street, Pancrass, dealer, May 9, 16, June 13, at twelve, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Eves, Chapel-street, Bedford-row.

A. Lewis, Banbury, mercer, May 6, 16, June 12, at twelve, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Harvey, Cursitor-street.

J. West, Charter-house-street, money-scrivener, May 6, at eleven, 16, at twelve, June 13, at eleven, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Pullen, Fore-street.

W. Bannister, Romford, baker, May 6, 16, June 13, at one, at Guildhall, London. Attorney, Mr. Cutting, Bartlett's-buildings.

J. Broad, Vine-street, Pedlar's-acre, dealer, May 6, 16, at eleven, June 13, at ten, at Guildhall. Attornies, Messrs. Rogers and Son, Manchester-buildings.

J. Edney, High Holborn, cheesemonger, May 6, 16, June 13, at twelve, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Bryant, Copthall-court.

R. Clarke, Tooley-street, cheesemonger, May 13, 20, June 13, at ten, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Willetson, Furnival's Inn.

J. Balls, Great Yarmouth, draper, May 15, at four, 16, at ten, June 13, at three, at the Star, Great Yarmouth. Attorney, Mr. Corey, Great Yarmouth.

G. and J. Benton, jewellers, May 13, 19, June 13, at 12, at the Eagle and Child, Birmingham. Attorney, Mr. Burrish, Birmingham.

T. Hawkins, Bristol, grocer, May 15, 16, at eleven, June 13, at six, at the Bush Tavern, Bristol. Attornies, Messrs. Morgan and Livett, Bristol.

E. and S. Jackson, Bilston, Staffordshire, japanners, May 18, at four, 19, June 13, at eleven, at the Littleton Arms, Penkridge. Attornies, Messrs. Crowthers, Wednesbury.

T. Lea, Walsham-le-Willows, Suffolk, innholder, May 19, at five, 18, June 13, at eleven, at the Six Bells, Bury Saint Edmund's. Attorney, Mr. Pate, Bury St. Edmund's.

T. Walton, Sheffield, linen-draper, May 18, 19, June 13, at twelve, at the Toutine Inn, Sheffield. Attorney, Mr. Thompson, Sheffield.

T. Coldwell, Wakefield, dealer, May 12, at five, 13, June 13, at eleven, at the New Court-house, Wakefield. Attorney, Mr. Beaver, Wakefield.

CERTIFICATES—MAY 23.

W. Heaven, Nailsworth, Gloucestershire, clothier.—P. Bentley, College-hill, stone-mason.—W. Mawson, Kendall, cotton-spinner.—W. Pearce, Dover, cordwainer.—J. H. Clarke, St. James's-street, milliner.—J. Dards, Vauxhall, lighterman.—L. W. Jackson, Brownlow-street, cabinet-maker.—T. Bale, Manchester, cotton-manufacturer.

SATURDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

This Gazette details the following captures:—The French frigate Le Var, of 32 guns and 200 men, by the Belle Poule, Capt. Brisbane, after a few broadsides;—a French armed brig and a trabaccolo, by the Amphion, Capt. Hoste;—La Princesse French privateer, of 16 guns and 50 men, by the Royalist sloop, Capt. Maxwell;—and of two small Danish privateers, by the boats of the Pincher, Basilisk, Censor, and Bresdragered, commanded by Lieuts. Anderson and Woodcock.

BANKRUPTS.

T. Wheeler, St. Andrew's-hill, London, glass-cutter, to surrender May 9, 16, June 17, at one, at Guildhall. Attornies Messrs. Gregson and Dixon, Angel-court, Throgmorton-st.

H. Hart, Hounsditch, broker, May 11, 17, at eleven, June 17, at ten, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Henson, Dorset-street, Salisbury-square.

S. Sullings, Little Coggershall, Essex, malster, May 9, at twelve, 30, June 17, at ten, at Guildhall, London. Attorney, Mr. Warne, Broad-street.

W. Yates, Sherrard-street, Golden-square, army-accoutrement-maker, May 13, 16, at twelve, June 17, at one, at Guildhall. Attorney, Mr. Kirkham, Cloak-lane.

A. J. Sarqui, Bury-street, London, merchant, May 9, 16, June 17, at one, at Guildhall. Attornies, Messrs. Pearce and Son, St. Swithin's-lane.

CERTIFICATES—MAY 27.

T. Tanner, Barnstaple, Devonshire, money-scrivener.—J. and A. Foster, Bradford, Yorkshire, twist-spinners.—J. Markham, jun. Napton-upon-the-Hill, Warwickshire, shopkeeper.—J. Symonds, Ramsdon, Oxfordshire, horse-dealer.—T. Payler, Greenwich, Kent, merchant.—S. Eele, Cannon-street-road, mason.—T. and J. Rowley, Salford, cotton-spinners.

PRICE OF STOCKS ON SATURDAY.

Consols..... 67 3/8

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

SPELMAN in our next. The whole mistake respecting the word *if* has arisen from the Editor's neglect in referring to the *context*.

The CRITICISM on the ACADEMY EXHIBITION is reluctantly postponed till next Sunday, owing to the great pressure of matter of a more immediate and public nature.

THE EXAMINER.

LONDON, MAY 7.

INTELLIGENCE has at length been gained of the new campaign; it was received, as follows, by the Telegraph at Brussels, and arrived in London yesterday by the Dutch Papers:—

"*Paris, April 25, half past six in the evening.*

"*The French army, after completely defeating the Austrians, has taken 25,000 prisoners, a great number of cannon, and standards. A number of Generals are killed and wounded. The enemy is in full retreat, and is vigourously pursued.*

"TRUE COPY. (Signed) CHAPPE."

This, as it is the first account, may be exaggerated; but the reader must unfortunately recollect, that in all the important accounts of the late wars the French, generally speaking, have certainly had the truth on their side. From the little assistance that is furnished by the meagre information of the foreign Journals, the battle appears to have been fought near the Lech, where the French, it is supposed, were retreating before the Austrians, who on their part advanced with great precaution. BONAPARTE, by the haste he made towards the scene of action, was probably the opponent of his old and distinguished antagonist the Archduke, but it is not yet known who commanded on either side. The war commenced a week or two before in Italy also, where the French again lay claim to the advantage: a letter from head-quarters at Campo Formio says, that the division of BARAGUEY D'HILLIERS was attacked by double it's force on the Tagliamento, but that the enemy was driven back with the loss of 600 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners. The King of Bavaria has published a proclamation, in which he declares his territory to have been invaded on the 9th April without the least notice of war, and expresses himself in a very *magnanimous* manner respecting the *rights* of nations. This is at best the lion's jackal insulting the wild ass. The Proclamation, in it's affected pith and prophecy, is entirely French; but with what face can BONAPARTE dictate to his vassals any thing about the rights of nations? If there is any body deceived in the present instance, it is Austria herself, and most lamentably too: from the numerous pamphlets and papers, or libels as the French call them, which were spread all over the frontiers, she seems to have indulged a hope of seeing the Germans rallying about her wherever she appeared; but she has yet to learn that petty despots make the pettiest of slaves; and as to the people, what would a change of masters do for them? The power of Austria has long been envied by the rest of the Germanic body, and BONAPARTE has availed himself of the accumulated jealousies of ages to hedge her round with spies, with enemies, with destruction.

The Parliamentary Proceedings of the past week abound with interest. I have not room in the present paper to comment upon them; and indeed the reader may be better pleased to see the usual topics of the day give place for once to a different subject; but the motion of Mr. MADOCKS respecting the corrupt practices of Mr. PERCEVAL and Lord CASTLEREAGH is to be rendered "tangible" next Thursday, and this will give me the best opportunity of renewing the discussion. Some people are surprised to see Mr. PERCEVAL accused of the same kind of corruption as my Lord CASTLEREAGH. But why? For Heaven's sake, why? Is he not the defender, the admirer, the avowed "heart's friend" of his Lordship? Does not one of the classics tell us that *Idem sentire de republica*, to think alike on state matters, is the very bond of friendship? And another, that *Idem velle atque idem nolle ea firma amicitia est*—the strongest friendship consists in the strongest similarity of taste? Depend upon it, there was not a part of his Lordship's conduct which Mr. PERCEVAL did not defend with just as much feeling *as if it had been his own*.

☞

Lord GAMBIER has arrived, and the Trial of Admiral HARVEY will commence in a day or two.

The *Moniteur* gives an account of the attack of their fleet in Basque Roads. It talks of the English *infernal* machines, and declaims most bitterly against the use of fire-ships.

A Letter, dated Amsterdam, April 26, says, a French courier, who left the Imperial head-quarters at Ingolstadt, and passed on the 23d through Cassel, communicated to the French Minister there intelligence that a battle had taken place on the 19th, in consequence of which the Austrians were so early as ten o'clock driven back, and had lost six thousand men in prisoners. According to the report of this courier the action still continued on the 20th, and the Emperor NAPOLEON was at Ingolstadt, where his head-quarters were established."

"An authentic letter dated Wellenberg, near Augsburg, April 20th, states as follows:—His Majesty the Emperor and King mounts his horse to visit the advanced post. Yesterday the 19th a general battle was fought in which the Austrians were completely defeated."

General DAVOUST in his General Orders to the French army, treats the Austrian Declaration with contempt, and says the results of the war are certain, for the French will be supported by the Emperor ALEXANDER.

George Beaumont, lately convicted of publishing a libel upon his Majesty in the *British Guardian*, was yesterday had up in the Court of King's Bench for judgment,—when he was sentenced to *two years* imprisonment in Newgate, to pay 50*l.* fine, and give security for his good behaviour in 500*l.*

During the representation of *Venice Preserved* on Friday, at the Little Theatre, the following passage was received with an applause rarely witnessed in any assembly; it lasted several minutes:—

Pierre.—Yes, a notorious villain,
To see the sufferings of my fellow-creatures,
And own myself a man—To see our *Senators*
Cheat the deluded People with a shew
Of liberty, which yet they ne'er must taste of.

A Court Martial is now sitting at Chelsea upon the Hon. Captain COCHRANE, brother to the gallant Lord COCHRANE, on a charge of having quitted his post without orders during the retreat in Spain.

His MAJESTY has granted the dignity of a Baronet to that gallant Naval Officer, Captain MICHAEL SEYMOUR.

Some curious discoveries are making relative to the *Agents for Foreign Corps employed by* Mr. WINDHAM when Secretary at War. Mr. EMPEROR WOODFORD, and Mr. LOGIN, (half-brother to Mr. WINDHAM, who gave him his situation) and others, are implicated in various improper transactions; nor would it be surprising, considering Mr. WINDHAM's recent conduct, if it should be found that even that sagacious gentleman saw a probability of his one day wanting the broad shield of a ministerial majority.—More of this in due time.

Mr. COBBETT, in a late *Register*, speaking of Mr. WINDHAM, merely observed that his conduct had given him pain. A Gentleman who has for some time been watching the *Register*, in the hope of seeing some remarks on Mr. WINDHAM's violent opposition to that Reform which Mr. COBBETT pronounces as necessary to the salvation of the nation, sends the *Examiner* the following Epigram:—

MR. COBBETT AND HIS FRIEND MR. WINDHAM.

Alas, dear COBBETT, whither wouldst thou run?
Thyself undoing for a man undone:
In metaphysics common sense to sink,
By meanly writing what thou canst not think;
When others trespass on the slightest rule,
And play the knave, the hypocrite, or fool;
Whips, rods, and scorpions in each satire reign—
But WINDHAM's conduct only "*gives thee pain.*"

THEATRICAL EXAMINER.

No. 45.

LYCEUM.

A farce, called *Temper*, or the *Domestic Tyrant*, and translated from the French by Mr. LEWIS, was produced for the first time on Monday. It relates the vagaries of an old Spanish physician, whose bad temper is the disgust and torment of all about him. The doctor is in love with a young girl, who is related to a sort of Spanish *Jerry Sneak*, and to this booby he is determined to give his own daughter in return, in spite of the remonstrances of all his friends. Against a temper, which conspires against every body, it is natural every body should conspire. The object of his affections has a proper contempt for him, and being a lively girl, employs his discharged valet, by the help of others in his household, to play him a number of what are called plaguy tricks. The valet accordingly makes his appearance before his old master as one Monsieur *Rigadoon*, a famous opera-dancer, and professes to be sent by the fair lady in order to give her future husband a few lessons in dancing. Such a proposal of course shocks the gravity of the Spanish physician, who bursts into one of his usual fits of anger; when the dancer, with great non-chalance, draws his rapier and protests he has particular orders, if necessary, to give the gentleman a lesson by compulsion: this at first only redoubles the patient's rage and obstinacy, till a passado within an inch of his breast convinces him, and in a sort of palsy arising from terror he accompanies his tormentor in a fandango. After a heat, like that of the gouty invalid, who was tricked into exercise by means of a hot metal floor, the doctor grows worse and worse, and therefore a tenfold horror is prepared for him under the pretence of kidnapping him for a physician to a new settlement in a distant and deadly climate. His little son, who ran away on account of ill-treatment, is reported to have already taken his departure, in order to increase the rising colony, and the valet suddenly re-appears before the old man as Serjeant *Slash-and-Slaughter*, one of the recruiting officers to the expedition. The presence of the soldiery, the alledged orders of government, the description of the colony with all its barbarous customs, the loss of his son, and the horror of his own prospects, at last tame the wretched old man; it is then hinted to him that the bestowal of his daughter on the Colonel Commandant may procure his release; he catches instantly at the idea, and just as the marriage contract is finished, discovers the whole plot, when the curtain falls in the midst of his redoubled rage. This last scene was infinitely too long, and almost lost the favour of the auditors, who should never be suffered to *think* much upon a scene of broad farce: the grosser the humour, the quicker should be its changes: to shift and surprise is the business of every species of slight hand, and there is just as much difference between gross farce and the finer drama, as between the conjurer who confuses your faculties, and the anatomical lecturer who discloses the wonders of the human system.

Temper therefore forms very little of the author's production, which chiefly consists of tricks that might have been practised on any other obnoxious individual, and punishes bad temper by means of others rather than of itself. The first two scenes are the best; in the former, the Doctor flies into a rage with his servant, orders him

to shut the door, then to leave it open, then to do neither, and at last fairly turns him away for no other reason but the want of a reason:—in the latter, his little son comes to him with a theme which his master has praised, and after many pshaws and rebuffs prevails on his father to hear it read; unfortunately the philosophical nature of the subject rouses the Doctor's conscience, and he interrupts the gay-hearted little scribe, in the midst of his declamation, by a sound box on the ear. What is the consequence? The child passes in an instant from respect to recrimination, he becomes wrong-headed, violent, and malicious, and worse than all, he feels that he is on the *right side against his father*. This is an excellent moral.

Dowton's performance of the physician was in his usual admirable style of impatient feeling. He is the only living actor who can work himself up into a *natural* frenzy of passion: the others express the *hostility* of rage, but Dowton in the midst of all his turbulence, when his very head and limbs seem to be *coming at you*, has the art of expressing the *suffering* also. Bannister's versatility was seen to great advantage in his metamorphosis into *M. Rigadoon*; his imitation of the foppish voice, that ineffable mixture of mincing, gaping, and drawling, might have been heard to advantage by the most accomplished student in Bond-street; and he had quite enough general grace for an opera dancer. Dancing no more makes a graceful walker, than singing an emphatic speaker.

The subject of temper is worthy of much higher species of writing. There is no vice, in the whole compass of human error, so familiar in it's instances, so ludicrous in it's causes, and so instructive in it's effects, as a bad temper; and for these reasons there is no subject perhaps so precisely adapted to the nature of genuine comedy, the object of which is to amuse and amend us by domestic satire. A good familiar treatise upon it is a desideratum among the lighter ethics. Dr. Franklin's economical maxims, from *Poor Richard's Almanack*, which are hung up over the mantle-pieces of the Americans, are said to have contributed more than any thing else to the prudent spirit of their mercantile class, though for *prudent* I think we ought to read *petty*. A paper on the same lively plan, in which the writer would make a social and unaffected appeal to our common sense respecting the charities of domestic intercourse, would be a paper quite as ornamental to the room, and a thousand times more useful to the whole house. Then perhaps we should not see so many sensible fathers become less than their children; so many good meals eaten as if all the family were sick; so many good intentions tortured by a pin, or strangled by a ribband, or drowned in a plate of soup; in short, so much real misery dealt through the house from master to servant, and from parent to child, and all perhaps on account of a word, or a look, or any other excuse for *restless selfishness*.

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REFORM IN PARLIAMENT.

MEETING AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR.

This Meeting, which exceeded in number and respectability any of the kind ever remembered, took place on Monday, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. On the opening of the doors, the anxious visitors rushed in, and the great room was filled in an instant. The approach of Mr. Wardle and Sir Francis Burdett was welcomed by peals of applause, which continued till those illustrious Patriots had taken their seats. After a dinner, at which not one in ten could get any thing to eat, owing to the numbers and pressure, Sir F. Burdett rose, and said, that he would propose as the first toast the person most interested in the measure which they were met that day to promote:

"The King, and the Principles which seated his Family on the Throne."—*(Three times three.)*

The next toast proposed by Sir Francis was those who, he observed, were equally interested in the redress of the Constitutional Corruptions of the Country; he meant

"The People."—*(Three times three.)*

Sir F. Burdett then addressed the assembly to the following effect:—"Gentlemen,—Having had the honour of being called to the Chair, it becomes my duty to propose to this respectable Meeting the business of the day. The measure which we have met to promote is one of the highest importance, of the greatest magnitude, and most worthy of the attention of the enlightened assembly whom I have the honour to address. It is of this importance as connected with the security of the throne, and with the liberty and happiness of the people. The measure of a Reform in Parliament is one so familiar to the minds of the enlightened part of the community, that I should think I but ill took up the time of this assembly, if I tried to make that appear plainer which to your own minds must appear so plain; or if I endeavoured to force the conviction of that of which your presence here affords complete proof that you are amply convinced.—Gentlemen, if I feel any difficulty on this great subject, it is that sort of difficulty which one never fails to feel when he is put to make that evident by reasoning which is itself evident at first sight. It seems as if I were attempting to prove that day is day, and night night, when I assert that if you do not appoint those who are to watch over your interests, your interests are not likely to meet with due attention. Gentlemen, I have heard many persons declare that they had great difficulty in making up their minds to a Parliamentary Reform; and this declaration I have heard from men of rank and property, who, I had every reason to suppose were informed on the subject, and whose practice, when their own interests are at stake, sufficiently shew that they proceed on principles similar to those by which we ought to be actuated. When these individuals appoint persons to manage their estates, they depend on their own judgment for the selection. They would think it very strange, Gentlemen, if any other individuals were to assume the right of nominating their Stewards. This is simply the case with the public. The question is, shall the People appoint their own Stewards, or shall a small portion of the community have the power of appointing those persons who are to watch over and protect the interests of the People at large? Gentlemen, the proofs of the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform, contained in the Declaration of the Friends of the People in the year 1793, are so ample, that I need not add to the detail.—By the Petition presented to Parliament by the Friends of the People, it appears, that at that time *one hundred and fifty-four individuals returned a majority of the House of Commons*. That fact speaks so strongly the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform, that it is impossible for me to increase its force by argument to convince you of the impropriety of allowing so small a number of the community to engross such an extravagant power. The evils that are now felt from the want of an earlier introduction of the great measure of a Parliamentary Reform, are too apparent to be denied by any man.—Experience, Gentlemen, has brought many persons to agree with us, who a short time since were adverse to the measure, from a misapprehension of our object, and from an ill-founded alarm of its consequence. That alarm has in a great degree passed away. Corruption has by various modes been brought to light, and by no one more effectually than by that adopted by an Hon. Gentleman who honours this company with his presence; I mean Mr. Wardle. The undaunted exertions of that Gentleman have tended more completely to open the eyes of the public than any thing within my recollection; and they have given to him that weight in the country to which his merits so richly entitle him. No obstacles impeded him, no threat induced him to abandon that duty which he boldly undertook,

although he stood alone when he undertook it. Gentlemen, day after day new discoveries of abuses are made; day after day the Reports of Committees afford fresh evidence of the existence of the most shameless corruption. It is by these means that the eyes of the public have been opened; it is by these means that those persons who were formerly alarmed have become convinced that they were mistaken in the ground of their alarm—have been convinced that that to which they clung for support was in fact itself the most rational source of apprehension.—Gentlemen, it is melancholy to take a view of the political proceedings of late years. Every period is marked with some encroachment on the rights—with some deprivation of the comforts—with some attempt on the property and freedom of the People. If we go back to that obsolete statute Magna Charta—to the Bill of Rights, and to the Act of Settlement, we shall there, indeed, see developed those principles of British Independence, which from time immemorial it has been the pride of Britons to assert. If we read over the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement, we shall see that it was the assertion of those principles which placed the present Royal Family upon the Throne. If we compare our present situation with our former, we shall be convinced that no relief can be afforded us but by the success of that measure which we have met this day to attempt to promote. Gentlemen, on the accession of King William, among various stipulations on behalf of the public to which he consented as the conditions of his ascending the throne of these kingdoms, there were many which related to grievances at that time deemed most oppressive, but which have since been so interwoven with the practice of our Government, that we scarcely mention them as abuses, because we scarcely hope for their redress. For instance, Gentlemen, one of the reasons for which King James was driven from his throne was, because he persisted in keeping a standing army. Now this evil has been so long fostered, that although highly dangerous to the rights of the people, and of little use to the security of the country, it is yet so engrafted in the administration of the government of these islands, that we are almost ashamed to call that a grievance which was formerly held to be so oppressive as to justify our forefathers in driving a King from his throne. The assault on the freedom of election was one among other stated reasons for the expulsion of the family of the Steuarts. Now, day after day fresh proofs are adduced of fresh assaults on that freedom. Public evidence has been given of the existence of this crime in a Minister, and that in the worst way in which it could possibly exist. That Minister was avowedly guilty of abusing his patronage for Parliamentary purposes; and yet we have seen the House of Commons eager to palliate if not to justify the crime, and bold enough to protect the criminal from the due punishment of his guilt. If any argument be wanting to prove to the country the absolute necessity of reforming the House of Commons, this occurrence must afford abundance sufficiently impressive on your minds. All the evils which we now endure—all the dangers with which the country is threatened—all the grievances which we suffer—all the oppressions under which we labour, originate in one cause—perpetual attempts of every Minister to force his tools into the House of Commons as the substitutes for the real Representatives of the People. Gentlemen, I know, that with respect to the case of my Lord Castlereagh, there are some persons who unblushingly maintain that it is very hard to punish an individual who has merely committed a mistake. His Lordship has been represented as an *innocent young man, unpractised in the affairs of the world*, and who *by accident* became the dupe of an impostor. Perhaps this sentiment has arisen from a compassionate feeling, similar to that formerly expressed for the fate of the inglorious Chartres, who, after having for many years lived with impunity in the commission of every crime that could disgrace human nature, was, in his old age, condemned to death for a rape. It was said of him, that he who for so long a period escaped when guilty, was at last punished for an act which he was unable to commit. For, Gentlemen, the ground of defence taken by the friends of Lord Castlereagh is, that he did not complete the deed of which he was accused. I own that I heard that defence with indignation; an indignation that was not lessened by my recollection of the fate of Hamlyn, the poor tinman, who, for an attempt to corrupt the integrity of Mr. Addington was ruined for ever. That the Noble Lord should meet with protection in a House, the character and privileges of which were so deeply involved by his conduct, merits terms of reprobation which it would not be prudent or fit for me to use in this assembly. By their proceedings, the House of Commons entangled themselves in this absurd predicament. On their Journals is a Resolution of the year 1799, that any such attempt to influence the Election of Members of Parliament was to strike at the dignity, honour, and independence of the House; and now they have on the same Journals, a Resolution exculpatory of Lord Castlereagh, because his Lordship only made an attempt at such a blow, and failed in the execution of it.—Gentlemen, in referring to the old constitutional laws, to which, whenever the Constitution is mentioned, I suppose a reference is always intended, we shall find principles recorded, for the assertion of which I have frequently been accused, and that too by persons whose reading ought to have taught them better, of a love of novelty. A grand provision in the Act of Settlement is, that no placeman or pensioner, or person holding an office under the Crown, shall sit in the Commons House of Parliament. You know how that provision has been complied with. It is also enacted, that this country shall never engage in war for the support of his Majesty's German dominions. You know how that enactment has been enforced; you know that the present calamitous contest originated with the defence of those dominions. Gentlemen, if you will take the trouble of tracing the progress of this *borough-monging faction* (for I will not dignify them with the name of a Government) you will find that they have again brought upon us all those evils against which our forefathers fondly imagined they had secured to their posterity. To those encroachments on the public liberty, which our ancestors had too much spirit to bear even from the King on the Throne, we have been again subjected by this faction of Borough-mongers: with this aggravation of the evil, that it has been produced by a pretence to defend us from it, by an assimilation to that unnatural act, which is termed in the book that ought always to be mentioned with reverence—the Bible—"Seething the Kid in the mother's milk." The principle of life has been converted into the principle of destruction; the poison infused into the Constitution has been the more baneful, because it was administered in the shape of an antidote. In contemplating the calamities which the support of this unnatural system has occasioned, the retrospect is indeed gloomy. I cannot forget the long, the cruel, and the unjust imprisonment which individuals have endured; I cannot forget the years which have passed, marked by the Government of this country with every trait which distinguishes the conduct of the Governments of countries that we have been in the habit of considering as under the iron hand of despotic power. Not only have we seen innocent men enduring a cruel and arbitrary imprisonment, but we have seen our seas covered with exiles, and our shores stained with blood. Gentlemen, this is not too strong language, if we turn our eyes to Ireland; it is not too strong language if we turn them inwardly on ourselves. For years and years did the country endure the grossest violations of the law; that they were violations was evident from the confession of the violators. That set of Boroughmongers were compelled to apply to Parliament for indemnity, and were supported in power by Parliament against the sense of the nation. Gentlemen, I should not wonder if we are now at the commencement of a similar era. I should not wonder if the liberties of the people were to experience an attack, under the pretence of alarm, similar to that which was made in the year 1794. I should not wonder if the administration of the day were to endeavour to carry into effect similar measures, for the purpose of preventing us from obtaining a similar object; and I do most sincerely believe, that the only object which the people had in view at the period to which I have alluded, is the just and rational object, the attainment of which we have met here to facilitate. But, Gentlemen, though such an attempt would not surprise me, I trust that its success would not be so easy. To be duped once in an age is surely enough for the most cullible. If

those wicked and miserable expedients for the defence of corruption should again be resorted to, I trust that they will be met on the part of the public with a firmness—with a wisdom, with a resolution by which they may be effectually counteracted, and that we shall ultimately succeed in that object, without which, in my opinion, nothing exists in this country that deserves the name of Freedom. Gentlemen, I am perfectly persuaded, that the success of the measure, which it is our imperious duty to promote, is no less to be desired by the King on the Throne than by the People. At present the King is compelled to bow to this faction of Boroughmongers: he cannot carry on his fair share of the Government (of which I am sure no one wishes to deprive him) but by bare consent. With the pretence of defending the prerogative on the one hand, they abuse the people; and with the pretence of consulting the feelings of the people on the other hand, they constrain and keep under the King. It is, therefore, Gentleman, I am convinced, that in doing that which it is our duty to do, we shall consult not more our own interests and welfare than the security, the tranquillity and the happiness of the King on the Throne. The King and the people suffer equally from this faction. I have no hesitation in saying that his Majesty and the Royal Family, if they wanted it, might have an increase to their revenues, were it not for the depredations of the individuals to whom I have before alluded. What one family may reasonably demand, can never be an object to a great and liberal people. Nay, notwithstanding the unfortunate discoveries (I use the word unfortunate with a reference to the *act*, and not to the *detection*) in which a Prince of the blood has been so deeply implicated, I have no hesitation in saying, that we should even shut our eyes to those follies, if on the other side we saw our rights, our liberties, and our Constitution respected. We are not to expect from Princes feelings and actions equal to those of human beings in general, much less superior. We are willing to grant them indulgence; but we are only willing to grant it on the security of our liberties and our rights. It is a great consolation to me to reflect, Gentlemen, that the Prince in whom we are most nearly interested has not, in the whole course of these transactions, rendered himself liable even to the breath of suspicion. It is a consolation to me to think that were I to mention the individual of the Royal Family who possessed the character of an Englishman above the rest, I would say that it was he. Gentlemen, I hope it is not impossible but that the individuals so deeply interested may feel with us a common zeal for the common good of this country; may feel with us the necessity of putting an end to a system which has weighed the country to the earth; and may be convinced of the expediency of affording to the people that fair and equal government to which, by the ancient laws of the realm, they are entitled. We ask for nothing new—we demand no novel system—we only wish to regain that which we have lost, and to obtain some security for the future, in order that encroachments similar to those which we have sustained may not be repeated. It is not my object to endeavour to draw the vengeance of the country on those who have been detected in error; because I know that in the system of Government that error originates. It is with the system that I war. It is against the continuance of the system that I wish to guard the people—a system so diffused, that in the House of Commons it was made an excuse for Lord Castlereagh, that though avowedly guilty, few, if they consulted their own conscience, could give a verdict against him. There, Gentlemen, is the grievance, and there we must apply the remedy. Let us not be deluded by the punishment of any unfortunate individual. Let us not be deluded by the introduction of any partial and migatory measure, the only object of which is to mislead the public opinion. I allude to the Bill brought into the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to prevent trafficking in places. Can any thing be so ridiculous and absurd, than that such a measure should be proposed by a Chancellor of the Exchequer, while he is covering a colleague from punishment for having trafficked in places, in the most pernicious manner, for the purpose of perverting the representatives of the people? Depend upon it that a partial measure will be worse than useless. I recollect having somewhere read of a Noble Genoese, who was a rich and worthy man, and who, finding that his countrymen were oppressed by severe taxes on the necessaries of life, and particularly on salt, retired from the world, and passed his whole life in frugality and privacy, unmoved by the reproach of nigardliness, in order that he might accumulate money enough to enable his executors on his death to purchase those duties and to relieve the people. On his death this was accordingly done; but scarcely had it been done when the same infamous government re-imposed the same severe burthen on the people. Such, Gentlemen, would be the result in England of a *partial* Reformation. We might relieve the country for a moment; but my firm opinion is, that eventually we should not be a jot better, but on the contrary worse, as we should be farther than ever from our wishes. We must contend for a substantive, just, and upright Government: if we stop short of complete reformation, the country will not be benefited.—What is meant by the term temperate reformation I do not well know; nor am I at all better qualified to comprehend the tendency of the expression by the use made of it recently in the Upper House of Parliament, where it was coupled with some reflections on *modern patriots*, meaning, I suppose, Gentlemen, such as I have the honour to address. I understand that it was *Lord Grey*, who a few years ago was a strenuous advocate for Parliamentary Reform, and who, I trust, is still friendly to it, that used this language. Gentlemen, it would much better become those who talk of a rational and temperate reform (as if there were persons who wished for a reform not rational or temperate!) to apply themselves to another quarter: to turn from the people who are burdened to the utmost possibility of endurance to those by whom their burdens have been imposed, and to repeat to them lessons of moderation and forbearance. Some time ago, Gentlemen, it was proposed in Parliament, that every labouring man, who maintained his family without having recourse to parish alms, should have a badge of distinction. Now I should like to see a *badge of infamy on the bosom of every man, who, by a political intrigue and by corrupt practices, betrays the best interests of his country.* Such men always have been and always are extorting alms from every labouring man in the nation. Gentlemen, there is another striking grievance of which this aggrieved country has to complain. It is the introduction of hordes of foreign troops. I wish to see my country defended by my countrymen. I wish to see arms in the hands of the farmer, of the tradesman, of the mechanic—all equally prepared to resist the attack of an invader. I wish to see the sword and the plough in the same grasp. I wish to see that policy which, from the time when Rome was in her meridian glory to the present instant, has ever been conducive to the security and interest of states, adopted in Great Britain. But no, we must behold thousands and thousands of foreigners on our coasts with arms in their hands, while a jealousy seems to exist of the natives. I hope that we shall feel the same spirit on this occasion as that which dictated the remonstrance of our ancestors to the unfortunate Charles the First. "We deem it beneath the spirit of England," said our brave forefathers, "to employ foreigners in her service, and we think that this victorious nation does not stand in need of Germans to defend it." I trust that it will not be long before the termination of this grievance. It is impossible to hear of a Baron Somebody having the command of an English District without indignation. This, Gentlemen, is a policy more insulting, and at the same time more foolish, than I can find words to express. But, Gentlemen, when the question is arms and honour, it is impossible not to think of the Noble Lord (Cochrane) who sits near me. I am so well acquainted with that Noble Lord; I know so well the delicacy of his mind, that I abstain from expressions which would give him pain, although it would afford me the highest gratification to use them, and although I am sure, Gentlemen, they would receive your most cordial concurrence. It is by such men that England should be defended. We are not so poor in English spirit, and ability, as to require foreign aid. Never perhaps was there a moment in which, under every disadvantage, British courage has been so eminently displayed as in the present. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this oppor-

tunity of correcting a misapprehension of something that I said, when I last met my constituents in Westminster-hall, respecting the Gentlemen of the country. What I said was, that I wished most anxiously to see the gentlemen of England in the proud station of leading the people in the defence of their rights. I said that I was sorry to see a disposition encouraged to induce Gentlemen to abandon the cause of their country, and to apply only to their farms; thus defrauding the people of that which they had a right to expect from them. I did not mean to impute this as a universal, or even a general disposition. There are many splendid exceptions to it. I might name a gentleman whose liberal pursuit of agriculture is not more remarkable than the firm and steady countenance with which he always comes forward in defence of the liberties of his country. I allude to Mr. Coke of Norfolk. Without reflecting on any one, I meant only to say, that the pursuits to which I adverted ought to be considered as secondary, and not paramount. Gentlemen, on the success of the present important question the Country reposes as on its sole hope of salvation. I ask only that which I am entitled to ask by the law and the Constitution. 'Tis our birthright; 'tis our inheritance; 'tis the inheritance of inheritances; for without it we are nothing. I propose no newfangled doctrines. I contend for that alone for which our ancestors laid down their lives, and I trust, Gentlemen, that we shall not be so base and mean, when our lives are endangered, to abandon that for which their blood was shed. I ask no more in behalf of the people of England than what a dutiful and loyal people may ask, and what it is fit for a just, upright, and beneficent King to grant. Gentlemen, I give you—

"A Speedy Reform in the Representation of the People."

This toast was drank with three times three; and the applause at the close of the Hon. Baronet's speech continued for several minutes.

Major CARTWRIGHT said, he had the honour to move the Resolutions which it was the great object of the Meeting to promote as Friends to Parliamentary Reform. He would make no previous observations, but merely read these Resolutions, which was framed so as to form a chain of reasoning, and were not applied to the passions of the country. They were as follows:—

1. That it is "the grand principle of the Constitution, that "the People shall have a share in the Government, by a just "representation in Parliament."

2. That the long duration of Parliaments greatly facilitates the corruption of the Members, and removes that wholesome check or controul on their conduct,—a frequent recurrence to the opinion of their Constituents.

3. That in a Petition presented to the House of Commons on the 6th of May, 1793, it was offered to be proved at the bar, "that 154 individuals did, by their own authority, appoint or procure the return of 307 Members of that House," (exclusive of those from Scotland) "who were thus enabled to decide all questions in the name of the People of Great Britain."

4. That this Meeting believes that individual patronage in Boroughs has increased since 1793. That the representation of Scotland is extremely influenced and unfree; that there are great defects in that of Ireland; and that in the English Boroughs called *open*, the returns are for the most part obtained for money;—wherefore, upon the whole, it is the opinion of this Meeting, that a great majority of the Commons House are so returned; that the nation is not constitutionally represented, while yet it is taxed to support an expenditure of 70 millions sterling per annum.

5 That in the Act (commonly called the Act of Settlement) which placed the House of Brunswick on the Throne of these Realms, it was asserted and recognised as the Constitutional principle, that no person who "has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a Pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons."

6. That it appears by a Report laid on the Table of the House of Commons in June last, that 78 of its Members are in the regular receipt under the Crown of 178,894*l.* a year.

7. That in 1782 it was declared by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, that "seven or eight Members of that House were sent there by the Nabob of Arcot, and that a foreign State in enmity to this country might procure a party to act for it under the mask and character of Members of that House."

8. That such a state of Representation is a national grievance.

9. That in every department of the State into which inquiry has been made, scandalous corruptions and abuses have been detected.

10. That the exclusion of the public voice from all influence in, and the consequent corruption of, the Governments of the Continental States, have been the causes of their subjugation.

11. That so long as the People shall not be fairly represented corruption will increase; our debts and taxes will accumulate; our resources will be dissipated; the native energy of the People will be depressed; and the country deprived of its best defence against foreign foes.

12. That to remedy the great and glaring evils of which we complain, it is not necessary to have recourse to theoretical speculations, or dangerous experiments in Government, but to recur to the principles handed down to us by the wisdom and virtue of our forefathers.

13. That the remedy is to be found, and to be found only, in a full and fair Representation of the People in the Commons House of Parliament; a remedy equally necessary to the safety of the Throne, and the Happiness and Independence of the Country.

14. That we therefore recommend to every Town, City, and County, to take the state of the Representation into consideration, and urgently, but temperately, to apply to Parliament to adopt such measures as shall secure to the Nation the Reality and Uses of Representation.

These propositions being read, it was now only necessary to put them separately to the vote—(*a general cry of "all, all"*)—He would then, if such was the sense of the Meeting, put the whole collectively.

Mr. MADOCKS then rose—In seconding those Resolutions which Major Cartwright had just proposed, and which it was their pleasure to have put in a collective form, he said he was much gratified, because he believed in his conscience they were the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Having pledged himself in his place, in Parliament, to agitate the question of Parliamentary Reform, he had to assure them that nothing on earth would induce him to abandon it.—Ever since he possessed the power of reasoning, or could form any judgement on the interests of his country, past or present; of the grievances they had to complain of, or the hardships they had to endure, he had been convinced that they were owing to the mode of our Parliamentary Representation. After the beautiful and eloquent speech from the Chair, however, and more eloquent he nor any one here had ever heard, it was not for him to expatiate on this subject. Indeed, the unanimity that prevailed in the Meeting rendered it quite unnecessary to enlarge upon the necessity that existed for Parliamentary Reform. Independent of the former reasons that prompted to this undertaking, the abuses developed by his Hon. Friend (Mr. Wardle) afforded another strong ground for it. They had seen that the Committees which had been appointed had done nothing, because the person at the head of his Majesty's Government (Perceval) was the greatest reversionist in the kingdom. He congratulated them most sincerely on the reviving spirit of the kingdom, which was in a great measure owing to the ability, perseverance, firmness, and patriotic exertions of his Hon. Friend, by which he had vanquished those whose conduct was calculated to overturn and sap the Constitution. He had great pleasure in speaking to them of his friend. He had known him from their early years—he had known him as a Magistrate of three counties in his own district, and as a Magistrate, a master, a man, and a land proprietor, he knew him to have discharged all his duties in the most exemplary manner. But there were other qualities which he possessed, and which at this moment entitled him particularly to the confidence of the community—moderation, and mildness of temper. He had also to call their attention to Major Cartwright. If ever honour in principle and perseverance in the right line of public duty, entitled any man

to the gratitude of the present age, and to future fame, it was such as had been displayed by that Gentleman. After a long life, devoted to the grand object of Parliamentary Reform, he met them this day with some hope that we were now likely to obtain it. He (Mr. M.) would not enter upon the subject after the speech they had heard from the Chairman: indeed, the matter was so clear, that it would be absurd to think any one could for a moment entertain a doubt upon it. He had intended to read to them a short abstract he had made of the manner in which they were at present represented; but from the able manner the subject had already been treated, he would not now occupy their time.—(*A cry of "Read! Read! Hear!"*) —The Hon. Member then read from a paper a calculation he had made, by which it appeared that there were in the House 25 Burgage Tenures, private property, which returned 53 Members to Parliament; 51 Boroughs, with about 50 Voters in each, returning 100 Members; 23 Boroughs, of 100 Voters, returning 45 Members; 28, of 200 Voters, returning 56 Members; and 2, of 30 Voters, returning 4 Members; being in all 1175 Voters who returned a majority of the House of Commons. Besides this there was a great increase of influence since it was stated in the year 1793; and at that period 75 Peers returned 167 Members to the Lower House, as the calculation was taken by the worthy Chairman from the Petition presented by the Friends of the People. Let them see now if the state of the Representation was the same as it was then; for if it continued the same, they might go on ten years more without being lost; but if it was getting worse and worse, there were no hopes for them. Since 1793, eighteen new Peers had been created, who had influence over thirty-nine Commoners, and six Baronets who had influence over eleven. Thus in all *there were* 206 *Members of the House of Commons under the influence yf Peers.* Peers made in the present reign, and in Ireland, had therefore the disposal of upwards of 200 Borough votes in the House of Commons, besides the influence they had in Counties, of which he could name at least 30 represented by the sons and brothers of Peers. The Treasury returned 167, and the Borough Faction 91, in number returned 139. Of all these he had enumerated, the number was 306, to which adding 21 returned by 17 Boroughs, of 150 voters in each, made 327 English Members under this influence, which, deducting from the total number of 518, left *only* 186 *tolerably uninfluenced free Members in the House of Commons.* The result was, a *majority of* 141 *in favour of this Borough Faction.* Could they conceive that any good effects could be derived from a Parliament so constituted, even leaving out of their view all the influence of the Crown, from places, pensions, and the 178,000l. a year paid for sinecures. It was from a consideration of this absurdity, and the pressing dangers of their situation, that he gave his notice in the House, that when any prospect of success arose, he would bring forward a measure of Parliamentary Reform. It appeared to him that the Resolutions contained every thing well founded and just on that point, and were, as he had said before, the truth and nothing but the truth. He congratulated the Meeting on the revival of the public spirit, of which he had once despaired; but was now convinced that since the Revolution there had been no time or temper so favourable to their views. In the present state of the House of Commons, it was impossible for him, or any one who wished to do well for the people, to accomplish this object unless they were supported out of doors. He thanked God the cry of Jacobinism was over, and trusted the East and West Indies would echo back the public voice. If their enemies said to them, "You want Revolution," they ought to throw back the accusation, and say, "No, we want only *Restoration.*" Restoration in the Constitution of the Country, and in Parliament, that we have both as left to us as the boasted inheritance of our forefathers—a Parliament which will be a check on Ministers, and on the prerogative of the Crown. He trusted his language was constitutional. He did not acknowledge any prerogative in the abstract without a corresponding check. The King, it was true, could make peace or war; but he could do neither without the coment of his Commons, who had the power over the supplies. It was this he supported, and they were met to support the Constitution, the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Constitution. One topic more before he sat down:—it was the generality of taxations. The landed owners, who paid the taxes, had no voice in sending men to Parliament; leaseholders, freeholders, and copyholders, had not their weight in the State; nor had they any check on the grants of public money which fell upon them to pay. He concluded by thanking them for the attention with which they had heard him, and again pledging himself to the measure of Reform.

Sir F. BURDETT then put the Resolutions collectively, which were carried.—He then said he would give a toast, which could not be ushered in better company, or more appropriate than the present—

"The Cause for which Hampden bled in the field, and Sydney on the scaffold."

The next toast was—

"Mr. Wardle, and may we ever possess an advocate with ability to detect and courage to expose corruption."

Mr. WARDLE upon this rose, amid universal and continued applause, and said, he was most truly obliged to the Meeting for the attention they had paid to him, which was extremely gratifying to his feelings, and such as he never could forget. If his Parliamentary conduct had merited all the thanks he had received, all he could say was, "Little he had done, and he sincerely wished he could have done more.—(*Applause*)—It was not his desire to engross all the thanks; they were much better deserved by their worthy chairman, who had afforded him that assistance throughout he was so well able to give, and without meaning a compliment to him he would say, there was no man in the country of talent equal to give assistance so effectually. It was from his instructions that he had succeeded, and it was his greatest pride to call this worthy man his friend. The people of England, in supporting him (Mr. W.) were doing themselves justice, as he was only acting for their benefit. His trial had been short, and they had taken him up, and supported him through the whole. It had not been so with their worthy Chairman, who had toiled up hill for them for years, amid obloquy and opposition, to achieve their liberties. He had not received such support, though God knows he had deserved it much better. In abilities he had deserved it better. In zeal to serve them, he (Mr. W.) yielded to no man. He pledged himself to pursue that line of conduct which had been sanctioned, he might without vanity say, by the great mass of the people of England. Lost must he be to every feeling which warmed an honest bosom, if he could desert such a cause, and worthy to be an exile from his native land, and hated by every honest man. He then alluded to a letter he had received from Sheffield, which he was desired to communicate to them. It informed him, that after a vote of thanks to himself, they had come to a resolution against the general corruption, which was signed by 15,000 names. There was also a resolution of the same kind from Paisley, in Scotland, signed by 4000. It was impossible for him to waver, and if he appeared to do so, he only asked them to call him to an account, and hear him in explanation. He said this, because an attempt had been made in some of the Public Papers to misrepresent him as having supported Ministers. On Friday night, when taxing them with corruption in the War-office, he had said he did not wish to saddle them with more than their own sins, and he really believed that their predecessors could number transgressions with them. This was what he had said, and he gave the present explanation that he might be able to retain their partiality and kindness, which had raised him to the summit of his hopes, and because he wished them to know the man they had so raised. He belonged to no party, nor had he a predilection for one more than another. He declared that till the whole system was changed, it mattered not to the people of England who the Ministers were. He now repeated what he had said in the House of Commons. He did not wish Ministers removed; but would wage eternal war till the abuses the people complained of were reformed. He had been told by Ministers in that House, that if he wished to find virtue he was to look for it in Office, and this had been cheered by the opposite side,

as much as to say "we are all Right Honourable men." There were many individuals in the House whom he esteemed who had gone with the stream, but were now ready to do them justice. The danger of reform had been talked of; but for his part he could see no danger in it, except to Placemen and Pensioners. The people of England would not adopt the new fangled doctrine that these persons were to be like Freeholders. Why were they to be held sacred, while Freeholders from whom their pensions were derived were not held so? Another set were likely to be injured by Reform,—Tax-gatherers, Commissioners, and the tribe of those who feed on the blood of the public, and administered to the corruptions they had—but it would perhaps be better for him not to go any further on this subject, as he knew there were many ready to catch up his words, and take advantage of any expression that might drop from him unawares. After again complimenting Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Madocks; he said there was only one point more on which he would detain the meeting. Great numbers of people, not only in the Metropolis, but all over the country, had joined the standard of Reform. The alarmists were gone. Those who trembled at the name of the Worthy Baronet who filled the Chair now hailed him as their deliverer. It was then the duty of this Meeting to evince their principles—to shew that they had no fear but that of doing wrong—that they proceeded on constitutional grounds, and with an equal love to the King and to the people. Something was due to those who were now joining them, and they ought not to go any lengths to frighten them. Let them see their way, and they would be bold, vigilant, and determined, as the present Meeting was. His worthy Friend (Sir F. B.) was the same as he had ever been, in honour and integrity; but he was happy to say that the people were changed. He knew no man his equal in talents, and his every attempt was known to be for the benefit of his King and the people. As long as he honoured him with his friendship, he hoped he would not be discarded by them. He was proud of the attack made on him as a Jacobin, because he had heard it insinuated against the Noble Lord near him (Cochrane), when he stept forward as the friend of the sailors, that he would create a mutiny in the fleet. The sort of mutiny he had created was well known. It was in the fleet of the enemy, and he trusted the Noble Lord would be found as bitter an enemy to domestic as to foreign foes. If such men were branded with the name of Jacobins, proud was he to be among their number. He took this opportunity of thanking the people of Westminster, whom he had not an opportunity of meeting before, for the honour they had done him in approving of his conduct in Parliament, and concluded by giving as a Toast—

"May the real Jacobinical Conspirators be deprived of the power of injuring the People."

Mr. HART TOWNSEND next addressed the Assembly: So fully, he said, had every point of Parliamentary Reform been already touched upon, that little remained for him but to propose a toast. It was his wish to have an immediate meeting in Middlesex, to set an example to the country at large in their resolutions and conduct. Without a Reform, it was immaterial whether we fell to a foreign foe or to a Minister at home; for Britain was but to be valued from its constitution.—He concluded by drinking—

"The gallant Castigator of our Foreign Foes (Lord Cochrane), and may he meet with equal success, and *greater support*, when he joins the Patriotic Band against our Domestic Enemies."

Lord COCHRANE returned thanks, amid thunders of applause.—His Lordship observed, that if every individual would place himself in his situation, they might form an idea of his feelings upon this occasion. When he had addressed them from the Hustings he had expressed his opinion on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and after the able speeches they had now heard on that subject, he would not trouble them with a repetition of his sentiments. He was happy to meet them here, and trusted they would pursue their object with firmness and moderation, by a Petition to the Throne, which, in his mind, was the only proper constitutional mode of redress they could adopt, or succeed in. Their opinions he was convinced were just, and he trusted their example would be followed. There was only one point which had not been noticed to night, to which he wished to direct their attention. It was the agitation of questions in the House at the time when the salvation of Europe, and perhaps of Britain, depended upon them. When he had been abroad, he was sometimes almost tempted to regret being the subject of such a government, and he hoped the time was near, when Ministers would be sent for to give the information wanted by the House, and not be employed all day in thinking on what they were to cavil about at night, and all night in debating, so that the business of the nation was of consequence neglected. In the King's first speech he had said, "he was born and bred a Briton, and gloried in the name." What pleasure and glory would it then be at the close of his life that he could accord with the unanimous wish of his people. He again therefore recommended a Petition to his Majesty.

The following toasts were given at different times:—

"The Electors of Westminster, and may the splendour of their example animate the country to imitation."

"May we "guard against the introduction of new and arbitrary methods of trial," and "maintain our right to a 'real' trial by jury."

"The Liberty of the Press, which "is like the air we breathe"—if "we have it not we die."

"May illegal and arbitrary punishments no longer pollute the soil of Britain."

Mr. W. SMITH paid a handsome tribute to the resplendent services performed by Lord Cochrane, and congratulated the country that he promised to be equally serviceable in another line than that of his profession. The Honourable Gentleman then informed the Meeting, that he had for 30 years been a warm supporter of a Reform in Parliament, and a Member of the Society for Constitutional Information, out of which grew the Society denominated Friends of the People. Both of these societies he praised in the highest terms. Standing up at the commencement of the third campaign, the two former having each lasted longer than the siege of Troy, he wished to say a few words which must throw a damp on their spirits, though to throw any on their exertions was the farthest from his purpose, and he only did this lest, finding the task more difficult than they supposed, they might be tempted to relax in their exertions. He then went to shew that they had the apathy of some, the corruption of many, and the prejudices of others to contend against. Corruption was to be vanquished by exposure, and prejudice by plain reasoning and moderation.—These he advised them to adopt, and above all, be patient, and trust to their great advocate, Time. He mentioned it as the opinion of Mr. Fawkes, and the Reverend Mr. Wyvill, that Yorkshire was not quite prepared to second the opinions of Middlesex. Against corruption, he recommended integrity; against apathy, zeal and activity. If they thought to carry it by acclamation, they were mistaken, and would waste their strength in a few futile attempts, which they might otherwise carry to a good result.

Mr. WAITHMAN, in a spirited speech, replied to the late Speaker, and contended that the difficulties were removed.—He believed that none of the men who formerly stood forth to support Reform, had any other object but to harass their political rivals for official emolument by its discussion. With respect to the conduct of Opposition on the late Investigation, he thought it worse than that of Ministers. From the latter nothing was expected but what they did; but their opponents forgot every former principle, and overlooked every sacred pledge.

[Major CARTWRIGHT read part of a letter from Mr. Fawkes, to shew that in his opinion the County of York would follow if Middlesex would lead.]

About half past ten Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Byng, Mr. Madocks, &c. retired.

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